1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

their shoulders. The procession moved slowly forward to the house where Mr. Watkin was sojourning. On entering the premises the people shouted and drums were beaten. On October 5, other processions brought gifts of food. These were accompanied by a playing band and intermittent church meetings were held. On the day of his arrival, Mr. Watkin was paid a signal honor such as was anciently paid to the Tui Tonga or the Tamaha. When he neared the landing place ten black-frocked ministers of the Free Church waded into the water, picked up the row boat, and carried it bodily ashore with him in it.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Although there is much gradation in rank, the Tongans recognize three general classes of people—chiefs (*hoeiki*), chiefs' attendants (matapule), and commoners (*tua*). Commoners are sometimes called also *kainanga oe fonua* (eaters of the land; *kainanga*, one who eats the leavings of others), *lauvale* (an opprobrious term), or *matatangata* (good-looking—a more or less complimentary term). To symbolize weakness and strength, the term *polata* (banana stalk) is applied to commoners, and *fau* (*Hibiscus*), to chiefs. An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana), applied to the people of Haano and Uiha islands, Haapai, who are under the chiefs Tui Haa Ngana and Malupo.

The attitude of the lower classes towards their chiefs is one of respect and obedience. Undoubtedly the chiefs and the matapule are far better informed than are the commoners. A man and wife on Nomuka Island who gave me a considerable amount of information advanced their opinions with some diffidence and apologetically said, "We do not know everything, because we are only matapule people. You should go to the chiefs."

In relation to the Queen and to the Queen's viceroys (the governors of the Haapai and Vavau groups) all subjects are relatively speaking commoners. I had this forcibly visualized for me at several assemblages (*fono*) when the Governor of Haapai was present. Because he took the place of the Queen, high chief and commoner alike appeared before him wearing ragged mats as emblems of respect and humility.

In a generic sense, the term *tua* is applicable to any person, even a chief or matapule, who is not "clever in Tongan ways," who does not act according to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish. This term also may be used by the head of a family in reference to its members, but may not be used about people of low rank in another family. It is employed also when one is angry, as, for example, *oua angafakatua* (do not act like a commoner).

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood avoid passing the mound in the dark.

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed *tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods, spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or "different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*, based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology.

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral" (26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs (p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

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The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls in ancient times, but without reference to rank: 775

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form. 775 825 565

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96). 775 [825]

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day. 774 775 776 196 [793] [787]

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treatment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 775 753 787 755 757

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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verb they may: thus *gooa te amoochia*, I envy, would be bad grammar; *amoochia* alone must be used: the verb therefore will run thus; 193

Present tense.

Singular.	Plural.
Amoochia *.	Gooa mow amoochia.
Goo ger manoo-manoo.	Gooa mo manoo-manoo.
Gooa manoo-manoo ia.	Gooa now manoo-manoo.

Past tense.

Singular.	Plural.
Neoo amoochia.	Na mow amoochia.
Na ger manoo-manoo.	Na mo manoo-manoo.
Na manoo-manoo ia.	Na now manoo-manoo.

Future tense.

Singular.	Plural.
Teoo amoochia.	Te mow amoochia.
Te ger manoo-manoo.	Te mo manoo-manoo.
E manoo-manoo ia.	Te now manoo-manoo.

The subjunctive mood will run thus; ger amoochia, ger ger manoo-manoo, ger manoo-manoo ia, ger mow amoochia, &c.

There are three words in this language which may be used either as verbs or prepositions; these are *my*, *atoo*, and *angi*; as verbs, they mean *to give*; as prepositions, they signify *to*, or *towards*: they are to be used, accordingly, as the first, second, or third person may follow; thus, *my* signifies to give any thing to *me*, or *us*; *atoo*, to give to *thee*, or *you*; *angi*, to give to *him*, *her*, *it*, or *them*: for example, 193 196

My ia giate *au*: give it to *me*.
My ia giate *gimóutáleo*: give it to *us*.
Teoo atoo ia giate *coy*: I will give it to *thee*.
Teoo *atoo* ia giate *gimóutáleo*: I will give it to you.
Angi ia giate *is*: give it to *him*, or *her*.
Angi ia giate *gimóutáleo*; give it to *them*.

They mean, therefore, not only to give, but they signify, also, the direction of the gift: as prepositions they signify not only *towards*, but also the direction in which the motion is made; i. e. whether it be towards the first, second, or third person.

The present tense of the verb *to give* is never used by itself, the future

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* Or, as it is sometimes pronounced, bamoochia.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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193 being substituted for it: but when *my*, *atoo*, and *angi* are joined to other
196 verbs, which is often the case where transferring or giving is signified, or motion towards is implied, they may be used in the present tense if the sense require it. Thus *ofa* means *to love*; but for *I love you*, it is not sufficient to say, *goon te ofa coy*; the verb *atoo* must also be used: example, *goon te ofa atoo giate coy*; literally, *I love give to you*; *goon te ofa angi giate ia*, I love give to her: in which two examples, if *atoo* and *angi* be considered verbs, then *ofa* assumes the character of a noun: but if they be considered prepositions, then *ofa* remains a verb, and the literal translation will run thus: I love towards to you; I love towards to her; in which *giate* (to) will appear superfluous. But it is not of much consequence whether they are verbs or prepositions, provided we understand how to use them. The best rule to be given is, that when the pure simple act of giving or making a present is signified, they are used without any other verb, as *teoo atoo ia giate coy*, I will give it to thee; and, in this case, either the past or the future tense must be used as the sense will best indicate. In respect to their junction with other verbs, it is generally either with verbs neuter, expressing motion towards, as to fly, to swim, to walk, to go, &c., or with such other verbs, the Tonga words for which may be used either as nouns or verbs, and being nouns, may be conceived to be transferred, or, at least, to be directed from one object towards another; thus *ofa* means, *to love*; also *love*: *jio* means, *to see*, or *look at*; also, *a look*: *ta* means, *to strike*; also *a stroke*, or *blow*, &c. as,

Teoo ofa angi giate ia: I shall love give to her; or, I shall love towards to her.

Necoo jio atoo giate coy: He a look gave to thee; or, he looked towards at thee.

Na ta my ia giate au: He a blow gave to me; or, he struck towards at me.

In these instances the words *my*, *atoo*, and *angi*, are perhaps best translated as verbs of giving, transferring, or directing towards; but when they are joined with verbs of motion, they appear to assume more of the character of prepositions.

Na boona atoo he manoo giate coy: Flew towards the bird to thee; i. e. the bird flew towards thee.

Necoo lelle angi gi he fallie: I ran towards to the house.

Na lelle my ia giate au: Ran towards he to me; i. e. he ran towards me.

In both cases, the words *my*, *atoo*, and *angi*, immediately follow the verb or noun to which they belong, and if the agent of the verb be in the third person, whether a pronoun, a proper name, or any thing else, it always comes after *atoo*, *my*, or *angi*; as in two of the examples last given, *he manoo* (the bird) follows *atoo*, and *ia* (he) follows *my*.

They also form parts of compound words: as, *tdamy'*, *talatoo*, and *talangi*, which signify to tell, say, or disclose; but the first, from *tala* and *my*, means to inform me or us; the second, from *tala* and *atoo*, to inform thee, or you; the third, from *tala*, and *angi*, to inform him, her, them.

As the words *my*, *atoo*, and *angi*, involve the idea of the person, the personal pronoun is often not expressed; as, *my* means, give to me, instead of saying, *my giate au*.

[p. 366]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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visits another, the latter says, *malo* your coming or arrival: the other answers, *malo* your staying here: so they may say, *malo* your harangue or speech; *malo* your work. If a man has borne a surgical operation with fortitude, they will say to him, *malo* your patience or fortitude. 192

12. The figure of speech which grammarians call antiphrasis is very much used in the Tonga language, not ironically, but on the most common and the most serious occasions: if they wish to express how great any thing is, they call it *little*; or how many there are, how *few*: instead of saying, what a number of yams are here, they will say, *here is only one yam!* For I love you much, *I don't love you at all*: hence the word *chiolofa*, a term of affection and endearment, is derived from *chi ateo ofa*, signifying, literally, *small towards you (my) love*; but really meaning my love for you is very great. Several examples of this figure occur in Finow's speech to the Vavaoo people on his accession to the government. A The sense of the context, or the manner or voice of the speaker, always sufficiently indicates what is truly meant: this figure is also used in derision, and it must be acknowledged they have a vein for irony. 634 537 196

13. If a man is very brave, it is an usual form of phrase to say, he is the only brave man: if a woman is very beautiful, she is the only beautiful woman, and so with other things.

14. There are several familiar phrases which often occur in conversation, some of which it would be difficult to understand from a literal translation, such as,

Coe low; they say; it is said that.
Coe mōōni: true; it is true.
Co ho mōōni; it is your truth; you are in the right.
Gooa lillé; very well.
Na ger ifé? where hast thou been? where wert thou?
Na ifé ia? where has he been? where was he?
Iky' chi; not so much as a little; not at all; also (by antiphrasis) a great deal.
Cówcá aloo au; whilst I go. Here is another instance of the pronoun *au* following the verb, instead of the pronoun *te* coming before it.
Iky' obito; not at all; by no means.
Coehá? what? it means also, what is the matter.
Gooa te lillé ai; am I good there; i. e. I am glad of it.
He mea coia covi; the thing that bad; i. e. I am sorry for it.
Coehá na ia: I wonder at it. This seems an obscure idiom; its etymology is probably thus, *coiá!* what! *na* was, *ia* it? (so.)

In Finow's speech, A which is given the last, there are several phrases difficult to translate; for it is not only the finest piece of composition, but it has more idioms than those which precede it; for which reason it is placed after the others, and to render it more easy to be understood, we here explain those phrases which are the most difficult to comprehend. 192 634 537

15. He mow-mow nai tooboo he tow tai tooooo he tacoto oi mala'i; *he mow-mow*, the destruction; *nai*, the sign of the past tense *na*, and the pronoun *ia* (he); *tooboo*, caused by, or which has sprung from; *he tow*, the war; *taitoogoo*, unceasing; *he tacoto*, the chief lying prostrate

[p. 373]

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 397-400 --Analyst]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Dracaena (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *evolo*.

2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *nin* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy had arrived, and had passed us; and another body was hastening to attack us. The former division might have murdered us all; but they wished to push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair, in order, to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose, they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war," Tow has several correspondent significations,—as an armed body of men, and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.*

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoee ge hen" "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and

* In the derivation of words from simple radicals, the remarkable similarity subsisting between this, and all simple languages, and the Hebrew, that original language of man, might supply matter for much amusing speculation.

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 0U9 Tonga 0U9

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

There is little doubt that Mr Gifford's Tongan "scholars" did their best, but the two Tongan men he relied on were chiefs, and chiefs were seldom trusted with chronicles which were often associated with place names. This knowledge was trusted to spokesmen, and theirs was the task of knowing place names which perserved for posterity the unwritten historical events that had transpired at those places. The European Tongan scholars, too, could not have been sufficiently versed in Tongan oral traditions and histories to be able to go beyond a mere literal translation of the meanings of many place names.

The stories given later on in this paper will help to illustrate how important it is to know oral traditions if one is to give correct meanings to place names. These stories were well known to the old people of Ha'apai islands but now are known to only a few. I learned of these stories at the many informal gatherings at my father's house where I was frequently called to serve kava. I treasured this delightful task as I could sit inconspicuously behind the kava mixer and listen to the older people tell tales of former days. And so later, when I saw Gifford's book and the erroneous meanings he had given to these places, I was shocked and grieved, for the present trend in Tonga is to accept anything in black and white as the absolute truth. Gifford's written words will be the accepted authority in the meanings of Tongan place names, and the true non-recorded meanings of some of these place names will pass on to forgotten history with the death of their tellers.

Going hand in hand with Gifford's lack of knowledge of historical events and the deficiencies of the orthography[2] that he used, are the complicating factors of the dynamics of language change at work. This gives some names a different pronunciation from the original, and thus makes a difference in their meaning unless one knows what they originally referred to.

Let us look at how this factor of language change has modified the following two words: /'auhangamea/ and /te'ckiu/ which Gifford listed as:

1. "Auhangamea. Panting to destroy things (auha, destroyed; nga, to pant; mea, things; perhaps referring to the heaving of the billows from the open ocean.) Strait between Tatafu and Uoleva island (H)."[3]
2. "Teckiu. Plover excrement (tee, excrement; kiu, plover Haradrius fulvus). Village on Tongatapu island (T). Also a track on Nomuka island (H). Also a tract near Hihifo, village on Foa island (H)."[4]

A correction to Gifford's spelling of Auhangamea to get its present pronunciation must be made with the addition of the glottal stop before the initial vowel. Gifford listed this word as having three morphemes: (auha + nga + mea) with their respective meanings as listed above. The original pronunciation of this word was /'auha + 'anga + me'a/ containing the morphemes /'auha/ "to suffer destruction" /'anga/ nominalising suffix, and /me'a/ "thing;" this was reduced to /'auhangamea/ by deletion of /'a/ from /'anga/ to form /nga/, and the elimination of /'/ from /me'a/ to form /mea/. The meaning thus formed from this compound word is "the place where things are destroyed, or lost."

This name was not given to the strait because of "the heaving of the billows" as suggested by Gifford, nor was it given to commemorate a "trivial event," but to record orally an important event long forgotten by most except the few story tellers who still remember the legend of Sisimata'ila'aa whose carelessness caused the bag of curses to be opened while the boat of the Tu'i Tonga was crossing it.

2. In the orthography used by Gifford, there is representation of neither the glottal stop nor the vowel length, both of which are phonemes of high frequency.
3. Gifford 1923:42.
4. Ibid.:218.

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This caused the loss of lives and every possession, including the boat. Only one person escaped to tell of the fate that had befallen them.

The present pronunciation of number 2 above is /te'ekiu/. We have, again, added the glottal stop which Gifford left out. This is listed by Gifford as having two morphemes: /te'e + kiu/ "excrement + plover." Actually, this originally consisted of two morphemes, too, but cut this way: /te'eki + uu/.[5] The first morpheme, /te'eki/ means "not yet," and /uu/ means "sheltered." This was the way it was meant to be, for it originated with the warriors of Vaha'i when they were digging trenches to hide in during the civil war with Hahake district of Tongatapu during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The commander used to call out to the men, /kuo uu/ "are you sheltered," and the answer kept coming back, /te'eki uu/ "not sheltered yet."

There is a way to find a solution to Gifford's remark that sometimes "a name is open to more than one interpretation." This involves the reviewing of oral traditions as presented and preserved in legends, myths, tales, and poems set to music for dancing. It would seem only logical that one would be forced to retain the interpretation of a name which is well supported by evidence from oral traditions and reject that which seems to have been forced, and really has no leg to stand on.

With this in mind, let us look at some of the following names and their meanings, first, as listed by Gifford, and second, by reviewing their histories.

The following names were associated with the birth of Taufa'ahau, Tonga's well-known King George Tupou I, originally known as Ngiiningini Ofo-langa:[6]

Luahoko. "Sunken reef next another (lua, sunken reef; hoko, next, nearest in place)."[7]

Luangahu. "Reef of the ngahu tree (lua, sunken reef; ngahu, a tree)."[8]

Niuui. "A kind of coconut (niu, coconut; ui, the name of a one kind of coconut)."[9]

Ofolanga. "Erected wonder (ofo, wonder, marvel; langa, to erect)."[10]

The following story is the historical background for the above names as connected with their location at Ha'apai.

Tupouto'a of Ha'apai heard that Houma Fale Ono, the daughter of the chief of Houma in Tongatapu, had been sent by her father to reside with Lavaka at Kahoua.[11] She had been acting strangely and wanted to drink human blood. Tupouto'a, however, knew that she was not possessed by evil spirits as her relatives had assumed, but was simply suffering from morning sickness, for he had been living with her during the last few months when he was in Tongatapu. So he came over to Kahoua and stole her away.

They spent the next few months cruising around the islands of Ha'apai. It is said that when they landed on the beach of one of the many little islands off the shore of Lifuka, Houma Fale Ono vomited violently because of the smell of the

5. The /u/ was long and it is written here as a double vowel.
6. Uate Mahe of Hihifo told the story of how Taufa'ahau received that name from the priest of Ha'elefeke. Apparently, the priest gave him that name after he cured him from drowning in the whale oil of the ill-fated "Port Au Prince" which the people of Ha'apai massacred. The priest took on the name of Taufa Tahi.
7. Gifford 1923:142.
8. Ibid.:143.
9. Ibid.:177.
10. Ibid.:183.
11. This place name is not listed by Gifford even though it is currently in use. It means "two reeds" and it refers to the double fence around Lavaka's residence which was made of this variety of bamboo.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
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main island groups, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu, in a single, branching segmentary system or ramage. Branching from the Tu'i Tonga lineage proceeded by collateral segmentation, and membership in segmentary lineages at all levels was determined patrilineally. Major societal segments were named *ha'a*, each composed of a number of related titled chiefs and their kinsmen of graded rank in collateral lineages (Gifford, 1929, p. 30; Goldman, 1970, pp. 310-315). *Ha'a* were ranked in terms of their claimed genealogical relation to the Tu'i Tonga line. The concept of *ha'a* was also used formerly to refer to the descent groups of particular chiefs within the major named *ha'a* and also to persons of a particular locality. Thus, *ha'a* was a flexibly used concept referring to some aggregate of people in Tongan society defined by both segmentary and territorial dimensions in different contexts.

Cross-cutting the ranked segmentary system encompassing the entire society was a class system with the *Tu'i* or king as the ruler of the society, the *'eiki* or hereditary chiefs ranked in relation to the *Tu'i* through their membership in the named *ha'a*, and *tu'a* or commoners related to particular *'eiki*. An intermediate class were the *matāpules* or ceremonial attendants of the *'eiki*, who were usually commoners appointed by the chiefs.

Although it is clear that chiefs determined their status by determining their rank to other chiefs and to the king through their membership in ranked, named *ha'a* it is not apparent that commoners were as concerned with ranking themselves in terms of their particular chiefs. Fluidity in the status positions of groups in the period before the rise of the present dynasty is well attested in the accounts of early observers (Martin, 1817) and in Gifford's data (Gifford, 1929). Nevertheless, the picture of Tongan society before the reforms of Tupou I is one in which the societal status of a commoner rose and fell with the varying fortunes of his chief, but his own rank within his chief's *ha'a* was fixed. One commoner could show how he was more closely related to his chief than another commoner, but the fact remained that he was still a commoner.

Goldman argues that it is within the kinship system that a commoner was compensated for his lack of rank in the class system and for the irrelevancy of his genealogical rank in relation to his chief (Goldman, 1970, pp. 446-447). In modern Tonga, a commoner's concern for rank in his kin group is far from merely a compensation for his lack of status in the class system. It is rather precisely through a commoner's rank in his kin group that he may achieve economic and even political power in modern Tonga. Of course, such a situation presupposes the transfor-

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
[283] (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
[177]

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
[283] Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[386] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
[177] feature of all of them except mana fau.

The bast cloth (tapa) (567)

287
177
[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784
198

568. See p. 66 ff.

since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are